

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2687
INFO AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMCONSUL IZMIR
AMCONSUL ADANA
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 5296

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, PORG, TU, YO
SUBJ: TURKISH APPROACH TO NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

REF: (A) NEW DELHI 10561, (B) NEW DELHI 10722, (C) ISLAMABAD 7005

1. SUMMARY: TURKISH FONMIN OKCUN'S VISIT TO INDIA
AND HIS EXPRESSION OF A TURKISH DESIRE FOR NAM GUEST
STATUS IS PART OF A BROAD EFFORT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS
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WITH THE THIRD WORLD. TURKEY SEES ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL
ADVANTAGES IN BETTER BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH IMPORTANT
NON-ALIGNED NATIONS, PARTICULARLY YUGOSLAVIA, ALGERIA
AND INDIA. ECEVIT HAS DOMESTIC REASONS FOR PERMITTING
HIS FOREIGN MINISTER TO ENGAGE IN NON-ALIGNED RHETORIC,
WHILE HE CONCENTRATES ON TURKEY'S MORE IMPORTANT RELATIONS
WITH THE GREAT POWERS AND EUROPE. THE MFA HERE IS DOWN-

PLAYING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TURKEY'S APPROACH TO THE NON-ALIGNED, AND OKCUN HIMSELF HAS SUBSEQUENTLY SAID THAT TURKEY'S APPLICATION FOR GUEST STATUS WOULD NOT BE PURSUED THIS YEAR. YUGOSLAVIA SEEMS AMBIVALENT TO THE TURKISH INITIATIVE, BUT CLAIMS TO BE WORKING TO PRODUCE MODERATE LANGUAGE ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AT THE BELGRADE MEETING. THE MFA IS SPONSORING A SEMINAR ON THE NIEO, BUT THIS DOES NOT NECESSARILY SIGNAL INCREASED TURKISH ACTIVISM ON THE SIDE OF THE G-77 IN THE NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC DIALOGUE. END SUMMARY

2. TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER OKCUN'S ANNOUNCEMENT IN NEW DELHI LAST WEEK THAT TURKEY DESIRED GUEST STATUS AT MEETINGS OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM) APPEARS TO BE PART OF A MODEST TURKISH DIPLOMATIC CAMPAIGN TO SPRUCE UP ITS INDEPENDENT IMAGE AND TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE NATIONS OF ASIA AND AFRICA. TURKISH INTEREST IN RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD IS NOT NEW; IT GOES BACK AT LEAST TO THE MID-SIXTIES WHEN VOTES ON THE CYPRUS QUESTION IN THE UNITED NATIONS REVELED THE EXTENT TO WHICH TURKEY HAD BECOME ISOLATED BY ITS CONCENTRATION ON ITS TIES TO THE US AND NATO. THE ECEVIT GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, HAS EXHIBITED A SPECIAL INTEREST IN RE-EMPHASIZING AND ACCELAERATING TURKEY'S EFFORTS TO IMPROVE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD. UNDER THE RUBRIC OF A "NEW" COMMITMENT TO "MULTILATERAL" DIPLOMACY, ECEVIT SEEMS TO BE PURSUING

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THIS POLICY FOR BOTH EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL POLITICAL REASONS. THE LATTER IS CONNECTED WITH HIS NEED TO GIVE SOME SATISFACTION TO THOSE IN HIS PARTY WHO MAY BE UNCOMFORTABLE WITH ECEVIT'S EVIDENT COMMITMENT TO MAINTAINING TURKEY'S TIES WITH THE WEST AND NATO.

3. WHAT SEEMS TO BE EMERGING IS BASICALLY A TWO-TRACK FOREIGN POLICY. FOREIGN MINISTER OKCUN SEEMS TO BE CONCENTRATING ON THE "RHETORICAL" TRACK IN WHICH LEFTIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST, THIRD-WORLD THEMES PREDOMINATE. THE PRIME MINISTER HIMSELF, ASSISTED BY MFA SEC GEN ELEKDAG AND THE FOREIGN POLICY ESTABLISHMENT, CONCENTRATES ON THE PURSUIT OF TURKEY'S MORE TRADITIONAL RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE AND THE GREAT POWERS. AT THE RISK OF SOUNDING CYNICAL, WE THINK MOST OBSERVERS HERE CONSIDER THIS LATTER TO BE THE "REAL" FOREIGN POLICY OF THE ECEVIT GOVERNMENT.

4. THE MFA VIEW: WE HAVE HEARD THAT THERE IS SOME GRUMBLING IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY REGARDING BOTH THE CONTENT AND THE TIMING OF OKCUN'S STATEMENTS REGARDING NAM GUEST STATUS. WHEN EMBOFF JULY 11 CALLED ON

ERDOGAN SANALAN, MFA DIRECTOR OF MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICAN AFFAIRS, HE FOUND SANDALAN HIGHLY DEFENSIVE AND EVEN APOLOGETIC ABOUT OKCUN'S PERFORMANCE IN NEW DELHI AND ISLAMABAD. SANALAN, WHO ACCOMPANIED OKCUN, POINTED OUT THAT TURKEY WAS NOT INTERESTED IN NAM OBSERVVER STATUS SINCE THIS WOULD INVOLVE PARTICIPATION, THOUGHT NOT VOTING IN NAM MEETINGS; TURKEY ONLY DESIRED GUEST STATUS, WHICH WOULD PERMIT TURKEY TO BE PRESENT WITHOUT THE RIGHT O SPEAK. SANLAN SAID THE NAM INITIATIVE WAS DESIGNED PRIMARILY TO FACILITATE IMPROVEMENT OF TURKEY'S BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH NATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD, MANY OF WHICH WERE IMPORTANT TO TURKEY FOR BILATERAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REASONS. OKCUN HAS PUBLICLY SINGLED OUT YUGOSLAVIA, ALGERIA AND INDIA AS MOST IMPORTANT IN THIS EFFORT. SINCE TURKEY'S

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ANKARA 5296

DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION IN PARTS OF ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA IS LIMITED, ATTENDANCE AT NAM MEETINGS WOULD ALSO PROVIDE TURKISH DIPLOMATS WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO BROADEN CONTACTS WITH GOVERN-

MENTS WITH WHICH, FOR FINANCIAL REASONS, TURKEY COULD NOT EXCHANGE FORMAL DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS. TURKEY HAD OBSERVED THAT ITS VIEWS ON IMPORTANT MULTILATERAL ISSUES SUCH AS DISARMAMENT, DETENTE AND NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC RELATIONS WERE CLOSE TO THOSE OF THE NAM, AND THEREFORE BELIEVED THAT ITS ATTENDANCE AT NAM MEETINGS WOULD NOT BE INAPPROPRIATE.

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5. SANALAN WENT TO GREAT PAINS TO EMPHASIZE THAT TURKEY'S DESIRE TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD WOULD NOT AFFECT IN ANY WAY ITS ALLIANCE COMMITMENTS. IN THIS REGARD, EMBOFF ASKED WHAT OKCUN MAY HAVE HAD IN MIND IN ISLAMABAD WHEN HE SPOKE OF A POSSIBLE "REEVALUATION OF CENTO'S UTILITY IN VIEW OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND PROGRESS TOWARD DETNETE" (REFTEL C, VARIATIONS OF WHICH HAVE APPEARED IN LOCAL PRESS). SANALAN EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT OKCUN HAD BEEN CORRECTLY QUOTED, ADDING THAT, IN ANY EVENT, WHAT OKCUN HAD IN MIND WAS THE NEED TO EXPAND THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE CENTO ALLIANCE. HE ASSURED US THAT TURKEY'S POLICY TOWARD CENTO HAD NOT CHANGED FROM THAT EXPRESSED DURING THE RECENT WASHINGTON MINISTERIAL MEETING. ASKED WHETHER THE PAKS AND TURKS HAD DISCUSSED THE FUTURE OF CENTO, SANALAN SAID QUITE EMPHATICALLY THAT THE QUESTION HAD NOT COME UP. (THE BRITISH WERE TOLD BY AN MFA OFFICIAL HERE THAT MIDDLE EAST OFFICE WAS "SHOCKED" BY OKCUN'S CENTO REMARKS AND WAS SEEKING CLARIFICATION FROM THE FONMIN.)

6. OKCUN BACKS OFF: AFTER HIS RETURN FROM THE SUBCONTINENT, OKCUN INVITED 20 AMBASSADORS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF NON-ALIGNED NATIONS IN ISLAMABAD TO A WORKING LUNCH JULY 17 AT WHICH HE REPORTEDLY CANVASSED EACH ONE AS TO TURKEY'S CHANCES OF OBTAINING GUEST STATUS. THE RESULTS WERE APPARENTLY DISAPPOINTING, AND THE LOCAL PRESS IS NOW REPORTING THAT OKCUN TOLD THE AMBASSADORS THAT TURKEY'S "APPLICATION" WILL BE POSTPONED FOR ONE YEAR BECAUSE IT WAS SUBMITTED TOO LATE TO BE CONSIDERED AT THE BELGRADE MEETING.

7. YUGOSLAV AMBIVALENCE: YUGOSLAV EMBASSY COUNSELOR
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STAMATOVIC CONFIRMED TO EMBOFF JULY 14 PRESS REPORTS THAT THE TURKS HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH THE YUGOSLAVS

ON THE QUESTION OF GUEST STATUS. HE SAID THAT YUGOSLAV AGREED "IN PRINCIPLE" THAT TURKISH PARTICIPATION IN NAM MEETINGS WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA, BUT EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT THIS WOULD HAPPEN IN THE NEAR FUTURE. HE POINTED OUT THAT TURKEY IS A MEMBER OF TWO ALLIANCES, A FACT WHICH DOUBLES THE PROBLEM FACED IN THIS REGARD BY PAKISTAN OR OTHER NAM GUESTS SUCH AS PORTUGAL AND ROMANIA. A MORE SERIOUS PROBLEM, SAID STAMATOVIC, WAS GREEK CYPRIOT OPPOSITION TO TURKISH ASSOCIATION IN ANY FORM WITH THE NAM. BECAUSE OF THE TRADITION OF UNANIMITY ON SUCH MATTERS, STAMATOVIC DOUBTED THAT YUGOSLAVIA WOULD ACTIVELY SUPPORT ANY TURKISH REQUEST FOR GUEST STATUS IN THE FACE OF CONTINUING CYPRIOT OPPOSITION.

8. THE TURKISH PRESS HAS SPECULATED THAT ONE POSSIBLE PAYOFF FOR TURKEY'S WOOLING OF THE NON-ALIGNED COULD BE INCREASED INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR TURKEY'S POSITION ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. STAMATOVIC SAID THAT YUGOSLAVIA HAD BEEN DISCUSSING WITH TURKEY POSSIBLE LANGUAGE ON CYPRUS TO BE CONSIDERED AT THE BELGRADE MINISTERIAL MEETING. YUGOSLAVIA WOULD WORK TOWARD A MORE BALANCED TEXT THAN THAT WHICH EMERGED FROM THE HAVANA MEETING, BUT HE EXPECTED THAT THE GREEK CYPRIOTS WOULD DO THEIR BEST TO FRUSTRATE THIS GOAL. (MORE ON THIS SEPTTEL.)

9. THIRD WORLD ECONOMIC RHETORIC: MEANWHILE THE MFA HAS ANNOUNCED THAT PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT AND FONMIN OKCUN WILL ADDRESS A SEMINAR ON THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER TO BE HELD IN ISTANBUL AUGUST 7-11. THIS OCCASION MAY PRODUCE SOME STRONG DEVELOPING COUNTRY RHETORIC, BUT BY ITSELF DOES NOT MEAN THAT TURKEY IS PREPARING TO ALLY ITSELF UNIFORMLY WITH G-77 IN NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC DISCUSSIONS. ONE MFA SOURCE HAS DISCOUNTED THE SEMINAR IN ADVANCE SAYING THAT IT IS CONFIDENTIAL

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HEALTHY TO PERMIT DISCUSSION AND THAT THE SUPPRESSION OF DISCUSSION OF VIEWS NOT FULLY SHARED BY MFA WOULD GIVE RISE TO STRONG PRESSURES FOR THEIR ACCEPTANCE. ANOTHER MFA OFFICIAL INDICATED EARLY THAT THE ECEVIT GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO SUPPORT ECONOMIC MEASURES IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS THAT BENEFIT IT WHEREEVER THESE MAY ORIGINATE. TURKEY, IN SHORT, HAS NO INTENTION OF WITHDRAWING FROM THE OECD, THROUGH WHICH ITS OFFICIAL DEBTS ARE BEING RESCHEDULED AND FROM WHICH IT HOPES FOR INCREASED DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE. BUT IT WILL PICK AND CHOOSE ITS ECONOMIC POSITIONS. IT IS, AFTER ALL, THIS BASIC DETERMINATION TO PURSUE ITS OWN INTERESTS, NOT BY BREACHING TIES, BUT BY WIDENING THEM, THAT UNDERLIES TURKEY'S APPROACH TO THE NON-ALIGNED.

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Message Attributes

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TAGS: PEPR, PORG, TU, YO, (OKCUN, GUNDUZ)
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